

Cultural capital and business success among entrepreneurs

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ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 10 February 2016

Revised 26 July 2016

Accepted 11 October 2016

JEL Classification:

D2, D22

Key words:

Entrepreneurs,
Cultural Capital,
Ceramic Design,
Business Success, and
Stratification.

DOI:

10.14414/jebav.v19i2.583

ABSTRACT

This article is about how the role of cultural capital plays in development of industrial cluster of ceramic art in Kasongan. This article based on research that make use of qualitative methods by interviewing informants such as entrepreneurs, craftsman, ceramic artist, government official, and technical staff of Technical Service Unit (TSU). The purpose of this article is to show how cultural capital plays role in business success among entrepreneurs and in struggling of the entrepreneurs to achieve high position in social-economic stratification. Empirical evidence show that entrepreneurs with a lot of cultural capital produce ceramic designs that more artistic, creative and innovative than those who with a little of cultural capital. Besides, cultural capital also supports meaningful interaction between entrepreneurs and buyers with various social-cultural backgrounds. The design that are innovative, creative and artistic and the meaningful interaction make ceramic product of entrepreneurs more easily to be purchased by buyers. As consequence, entrepreneurs with a lot of cultural capital more successful in their business and achieve high position in social-economic stratification.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini adalah tentang bagaimana peranan modal budaya dalam perkembangan klaster industri seni keramik di Kasongan. Penelitian menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan mewawancarai informan seperti pengusaha, pengrajin, seniman keramik, pejabat pemerintah, dan staf teknis Unit Pelayanan Teknis (UPT). Penelitian bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana modal budaya berperan dalam keberhasilan bisnis di antara para pengusaha dan perjuangan mereka dalam usaha meraih posisi tinggi pada stratifikasi sosial ekonomi. Bukti empiris menunjukkan bahwa pengusaha dengan banyak modal budaya menghasilkan desain keramik yang lebih artistik, kreatif, dan inovatif daripada mereka yang sedikit modal budayanya. Selain itu, modal budaya juga mendukung interaksi bermakna antara pengusaha dan pembeli keramik yang beragam latar belakang sosial-budayanya. Desain yang artistik, kreatif, dan inovatif serta interaksi yang bermakna membuat produk keramik pengusaha tersebut lebih mudah laku. Akibatnya, pengusaha dengan banyak modal budaya lebih sukses dalam bisnis mereka dan bahkan mereka juga menduduki posisi yang tinggi pada stratifikasi sosial-ekonomi.

1. INTRODUCTION

Creative industry is industry that support economic growth and income generation many people. This industry need the more creative worker and a little of economic capital and generally related to traditional culture of local community. Therefore, creative industry make possible those who with lack of capital economic to participate in the industry. To develop creative industry Industrial Ministry in 2009 issued Road Map for Development of Cluster of Industry of Handicraft and Art Goods.

Kasongan is one of creative industrial clusters that produce ceramic arts with symbolic values. To achieve the goal of cluster development Regency Government of Bantul in 2010 decided Kasongan as target of program implementation of OVOP (one village one product). Some of program activities were training for entrepreneurs and craftsmen in marketing management, supporting exhibition of ceramic product, and group formation to serve cluster development. Actually long before implementation of OVOP program many entrepreneurs

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and craftsmen have received some trainings that delivered by artists and other government or non-government agencies. The results of the training provided by various parties allow the industrial clusters capable of producing various ceramic designs that attract buyers to come there. The buyers come from within and abroad. Cluster developments led to the emergence of social differentiation and social stratification among entrepreneurs.

Many researchers have been conducted on industrial clusters in Many studies have been conducted on industrial clusters in Kasongan. Research by Raharjo (Raharjo 2009) focused on globalization and development of cluster, Guntur (Guntur 2005) focused on development of ceramic design, and Ismalina (Ismalina 2010) focused on role of network and government in cluster development. There were many who write about cultural capital but they associate cultural capital with education success and to how status groups or class members reproduce themselves and make exclusion. In his research on ceramics in Japan, although Moeran not use the concept of cultural capital, but he implicitly linking cultural capital with an artist's success in achieving a high position among the artists (Moeran 2009). This research assumes that cultural capital plays important role in the cluster development. This article based on research in industrial cluster of ceramic arts in Kasongan, Bantul, Yogyakarta Special Region. The purpose of this article is to explain how the role of cultural capital in the business entrepreneurs to succeed in business and to achieve a high position on the ladder of socio-economic stratification.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Cultural Capital

The concept of cultural capital is often defined and operationalized differently even by Bourdieu and Passeron who popularized the concept (Sullivan, 2002). For example, in *Reproduction* (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977) cultural capital is described as the cultural capital of linguistic attitudes, academic culture, formal knowledge and general culture as well as a diploma. In *Inheritors* (Bourdieu & Passeron 1979) cultural capital consists of informal academic standards is also an attribute of the dominant class. Standards and attributes in the form of informal knowledge about the school, traditional humanist cultural, linguistic competence and attitudes or specific personal style. Then in *Distinction* (Bourdieu 1984) cultural capital plays a role that theoretically and radically different, i.e. as an indicator and the basis of class position. Attitude,

choices, and behavior culture are conceptualized as a taste that is mobilized for social selection. In his article criticizing Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, Lamont and Lareau propose to define cultural capital as institutionalized, i.e. widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behavior, goods and credentials) used for social and cultural selection, the former referring to exclusion from jobs and resources, and the latter, to exclusion from high status groups (Lamont & Lareau, p. 156).

The author agrees with the views expressed by Sullivan in his criticism of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. Sullivan said that because of cultural capital is defined and operationalized differently both by Bourdieu and by the authors and other researchers, the results of their research into diverse, there are for and against the theory of Bourdieu about the function or role of cultural capital (Sullivan, 2002, p. 155). In his research, Sullivan showed that the cultural capital provides a useful understanding and help explain differences in educational attainment on the basis of differences in class but does not provide a complete explanation of these differences. Sullivan said that people cannot tell the activities should be seen as a cultural capital without analysis in which cultural activities related to educational success. Reading and watching TV as a cultural activity habits associated with GCSE attainment (Graduate Certificate of Secondary Education), cultural knowledge and language skills. This is evidence that these activities are the cultural capital. However, there is no evidence that the habit of listening and playing music or participation in formal culture is cultural activities, shaping the cultural capital. This suggests that the cultural capital as an explanatory concept but does not support the big theory of cultural reproduction. Sullivan analogizes cultural capital with economic capital that always gives results or profits (Sullivan 2001, p. 907). This article agree to Sullivan that cultural capital may give profit and that not all things that can be seen as cultural capital is not cultural capital for certain purpose but is cultural capital for the other purpose.

In this article the definition of cultural capital is the same as the definition implicit in the book about the arena of cultural production written by Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1993), in Bourdieu's article about the forms of capital (Bourdieu 2002) and Anheier definition (Anheier, Jurgen & Romo 1995). In those writings, they both show that cultural capital also manifest in the material forms such as such as books, computer and arts work. Without cultural

capital that embody in the person, for example artistic disposition, skills, and knowledge, cultural capital in the material forms are meaningless. Computer is useless for its owner unless the owner has knowledge and skill to operate it. The same, without artistic disposition it is difficult for people to make ceramic design that is artistic. Anheier defines cultural capital as dispositions and habits longstanding obtained through the process of socialization, accumulation of cultural objects such as paintings, formal education and training qualifications. For example, through the study of literature and art the author will get a taste of different styles of others (Anheier, Jurgen & Romo 1995, p. 862). Taking into account the opinions mentioned above, in this article the forms of the cultural capital in the ceramic art industry are as follows: (1) In the embodied form such as knowledge, artistic dispositions, skills and abilities in making ceramic design; (2) in the form of an objective form of books, magazines and ceramics and ceramic design; and (3) in the institutional form such as formal educational qualification (diploma) in the field of art. For entrepreneurs the forms of cultural capital like this have functions in doing ceramic business and struggling to achieve high position on social-economic stratification. Besides that the forms of cultural capital like this also enable entrepreneurs to make them distinct and exclusive from other entrepreneurs. Cultural capital used here has the meaning that in various degree people always have cultural capital. Everyone can be arranged and be stratified according the sum of cultural capital they have.

Cultural Capital and Business Success

Garment production takes place in developing countries, while design and marketing are carried out or managed in main offices located in developed countries, often in global cities. This means that consumption is separated from production not only by a market interface, but also by physical distance, and often by other forms of distance, such as religious, economic, linguistic, developmental and cultural. Aspers reported that garment producers in India find difficulties to sell their products to consumers in the West because they did not know what is product that fashionable in certain place and season (Aspers 2010). I assume that there is similarity between garment production in India and ceramic art production in Kasongan: Both productions have consumers that are distant and they both are creative aesthetic work. Aspers said that creative aesthetic work is separated from other kinds of work because it is both aesthetic and crea-

tive. Creative aesthetic work is distinguished from other forms of aesthetic work because it demands innovation and adaptation to current trends (Aspers 2006, p. 748). The ability to produce ceramic art that are innovative, creative and artistic cannot be done in social vacuum by designer (entrepreneurs) himself. Province of meaning gives a lot of information that can be used by entrepreneurs in making ceramic arts product (Aspers 2006, p. 755). Province of meaning consisting of books, magazines, websites, exhibitions of art and education in ceramic art is source of inspiration to produce ceramic art product. In the world of ceramics knowledge of the province of meaning implies that the actor knows about how the tendency of colors and designs that exist or will arise. This knowledge cannot be directly used to produce ceramic products but should be interpreted first. Source of its interpretation is life world (Aspers 2006, p. 756). The life world is the values, institutions and norms that internalized by the individual members of the community and taken for granted. Aspers said

“The life world refers to what people take for granted and do not question, such as basic values, propositions, facts, culture and so on. It is something that people living in a culture gradually learn, through socialization, use, ‘forget’ and eventually take for granted. The lifeworld is composed of culture, institutions and thereby includes concrete values, such as what is beautiful and what is not” (Aspers 2010, p. 196).

Artistic ceramic market in Kasongan is a market where the product of the producers is not mainly sold to consumers directly but to ceramic traders. Ceramic buyers who buy ceramic in large number usually come from abroad, such as Europe, Australia, North and South America, and East Asia. Ceramic buyers are able to demonstrate to the producers about final consumer tastes because they participate and understand the lifeworld of the final consumers that ceramics will sell to. Knowledge of the lifeworld is not easily transferred in the form of codified knowledge. To gain knowledge about the lifeworld of the consumer, the interaction between the ceramic designers with buyers is important (Aspers 2006 p. 757). Traders of artistic ceramics in this case play a role as a cultural intermediation. Cultural capital owned by the entrepreneur, that usually also a ceramic designer, is a very important capital in the advancement of artistic ceramics business. The entrepreneurs who have a lot of cultural capital has much more interaction with the province of meaning of ceramic art. They

are easier to interact with ceramic traders in meaningful way and the final consumers with various socio-cultural back grounds. This provides a greater possibility for them to produce ceramic designs that are artistic, creative and innovative if compared with entrepreneurs who have little cultural capital. This article will demonstrate how entrepreneurs who have a lot of cultural capital more success in running business and more quickly up the ladder of social-economic hierarchy or stratification among the entrepreneurs than the entrepreneurs with a little of cultural capital.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This research was conducted in art ceramics industry cluster Kasongan, Bantul, Yogyakarta, carried out from October 2011 to April 2012, and then continued in December 2012. The research was conducted by using qualitative research methods with purposive sampling. Researcher conducted interviews with informant as much as 49 people consisting of officials of the district offices, village officials, entrepreneurs, employees of the cooperative, and coaches making ceramics. By interviewing entrepreneurs and observations of the workplace as well as a showroom where entrepreneurs showcase ceramic designs, it can be identified entrepreneur who has a lot of cultural capital and can create their own designs are artistic, creative and innovative and entrepreneurs who do not have a lot of cultural capital and just imitating it in terms of making ceramic design. By comparing the time the entrepreneurs set up its business and its position at the time of this study, it can be demonstrated how the role of cultural capital in its struggle achieve business success and to raise their position on the social-economic stratification of the entrepreneurs.

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Ceramic Industry Cluster Development

Ceramic industrial cluster in Kasongan has existed since colonial times. At first, craftsmen produced ceramics to meet the demand on household appliances such as pots, mortar, pengaron, padasan, and piggy bank. However, there were also craftsmen who producing building materials such as wuwung and plempem (Raharjo 2009, p. 16; Guntur 2005, p. 109). Besides, there were also some craftsmen who can make ceramics for the benefit of home decor. Raw materials of ceramics, namely clay, all originate from Kasongan. Important developments occurred in the industrial cluster in the end of 1960s and early 1970s in the form of the introduction of artistic decoration techniques by art-

ists like Sapto Hudoyo, Larasati Suliantoro and art institute students. Training of making artistic ceramic designs was also accompanied with the help of marketing its products. For example, Sapto Hudoyo introduced artistic ceramics of Kasongan by displaying the artistic ceramics in front of art gallery in Yogyakarta Adisucipto Airport and Larasati brought flower vase of Kasongan to various cities where the exhibition of art of flower arranging was held. The effort to introduce the artistic ceramic of Kasongan led to many buyers come to Kasongan by themselves. Besides, the development of the ceramic industry cluster was also not free from government assistance. The assistance was given in the form of establishment of TSU, making and repair of roads and bridges that facilitate the entry of buses and trucks into Kasongan. Through training continuously by TSU staff to be provided to employers, as well as the introduction of new techniques in the processing of the raw material provided by the relevant agencies and decorating techniques by artists who paid attention to the art of ceramics make the industrial cluster develop. The introduction of a variety of ceramic decoration techniques through training represents the cultural capital transfer by the artists to entrepreneurs.

The increasing number of buyers both as ceramic consumers and ceramic trader from home and abroad encourage the entrepreneurs whose homes are on the edge of the main road in Kasongan to set up shops. It shops often referred to by some residents of Kasongan as showroom. Over time, the fewer buyer who come to the inner of villages to see or buy ceramics, and consequently, the ceramic entrepreneurs who lived and did business in the inner part of villages that far away from main road of Kasongan declining their business. An entrepreneur stated:

"This is due to the development. From the results of our sales profit then we bought the land at the edge of the road. If the past were in the villages, the buyer went into villages. No shops, all still at home. At home make ceramics, have a look. After that we were widely known, many tourists come here. Although the first ceramic yet completed but already many were ordered. So, first did not need to create a showroom as we see today." (Interview, 7 February 2012)

The entrepreneurs who are currently quite prominent among which were the entrepreneurs who had been trained directly from Sapto Hudoyo and their house is on the main street Kasongan. Partly because the house was in the village, al-

though it received direct training from Sapto Hudoyo, their efforts did not develop.

The increasing demand for ceramics from domestic and overseas made ceramics entrepreneurs who has a showroom on the edge of the main road progressed rapidly. Then the businessman his place of business located in the countryside turned into a sub-contract entrepreneur who served the demand of ceramic (terracotta) of the entrepreneurs who have a showroom on the edge of the main road. At first all entrepreneurs did the ceramics manufacturing process by themselves since from providing clay, collecting fuel wood to burn terracotta and doing finishing work. The introduction of new decoration techniques, the diversity of ceramic design increase, and the increasing demand for ceramic, clay and processing equipment cause the process of differentiation or division of labor among entrepreneur's ceramics. Now there are (1) the entrepreneur who made terracotta, doing the finishing work and sell ceramics in showroom (ETFS); (2) employers are doing the finishing work and sell ceramics in showroom (EFS); (3) employers who make terracotta (ET); and (4) employers who provide the raw material clay (EM). Because of various types of design emerge; the traditional craftsman can no longer make ceramics from shaping body of ceramics up to doing finishing work. Increasing market demand also prompted differentiation among entrepreneurs.

In Kasongan not all entrepreneurs are craftsmen who are able to make ceramics. Conversely, not all craftsmen are entrepreneurs. Now most of the craftsmen work on ceramic entrepreneurs. In contrast to the craftsmen in the years before introduction of the artistic decoration that is capable of forming a ceramic body as a whole to burn, now the craftsmen of Kasongan has its own specialties. There are specialist in painting, scraping ceramic body (ceramic when wet) before to be burned, sticking to certain materials in terracotta ceramic body, etc. Entrepreneurs who employ craftsmen will recruit craftsmen according to craftsman skills and their needs. Entrepreneur who founded his business in the 1970s in general are craftsmen who are able to form a ceramic body and give a decoration in the form of scratches and sticky and burned.

The influence of the introduction of artistic decoration technique not only cause social-economic differentiation but also gave rise to social-economic stratification among entrepreneurs. Before and early 1970s there was no significant difference between large and small entrepreneurs. As the home indus-

try that uses simple technology and more dependent on human labour, differences in capability producing ceramics among the entrepreneurs or the average crafter alike. In the late 1970s began existing rapid progress in Kasongan. At the end of the 1990s the development of industrial clusters Kasongan began to spread to the east of the river Bedog actually no longer a part of the territory Kasongan. The monetary crisis of 1997-1998 also contributed to the development of clusters due to the increased demand for ceramics. The development of the cluster also brought about some entrepreneurs become wealthy. Suryono, an entrepreneur, compare past and present situation. He said:

"Same, there was entrepreneur who stand out but not too. Entrepreneurs who stand out was Bowo, Naryo, and Sartono. Sartono was not too stand out. But after progress in ceramics business the entrepreneurs who rocketed was Bowo, Naryo, and sartono. Sarwono progress was in the late. That is the warehouse that Sarwono has. Then Laksono, Laksono Ceramics. Radite. In past Radite was not entrepreneur ceramics." (interview, 3 November 2011)

Entrepreneurs are mentioned by informant are entrepreneurs who make ceramic terracotta, selling the finishing ceramic designs that showcased in their showroom (ETFS). Among them in recent years have resigned and then forwarded by their children. They usually have two or three showrooms to show off the designs of pottery. They have workers or crafters up to 30 people. When they making traditional ceramics they sold their products with a bike ride or walk from village to village in Yogyakarta and Central Java.

Ability to Make Design and Business Success

The ability to make ceramic design is cultural capital that play important role in the development of ceramic business in Kasongan. Businessmen that developed their business at the beginning of 1970 and become big businessmen are those who become big businessmen because they were the first who develop ceramic art business and ceramic art demand large enough while the businessmen enough little number. Harimurti said:

"In 1977 there has been no victorious. In the late 1970s a new entrepreneur who stands out. We used to buy ceramics at a price of one thousand and then we can sell at a price of five thousand. Sizeable profit. Orders from abroad are many. Orders aplenty. For example, there are some container orders. First forms of pottery still modest, for example, in the form of

chicken and dragon. Ceramics made with the technique of gluing strands of clay in the ceramic body." (interview, 3 November 2011)

The entrepreneurs are mentioned by the informant have little cultural capital. They make ceramic design on the basis of their talents without any formal education in art. Artistic ceramics that first of all they are selling is decorated with terracotta ceramic paste technique (*teknik tempel*) introduced by Sapto Hudoyo. Paste technique is a technique of making ceramic decoration by attaching strands of clay in the ceramic body. The strands can be formed into scales or dragon, rooster feathers, flowers, etc. This paste technique is a technique that characterizes the decoration of Kasongan ceramic at that time. The limited ability of the entrepreneurs in making ceramic design makes existing design variations are relatively limited in number when compared to the existing design variations at this time. For example, the design of the animals in the form of chicken, dragon, horse, and fish are widely known in the daily life of the Java community.

There is a relationship between the ability to create a design, business progress and position of entrepreneur on social stratification. In terms of production of ceramic designs in Kasongan divided into three. (1) The design of which is made by the entrepreneurs as a whole from the beginning to the end. The design was then exhibited in the showroom and then reproduced in large numbers at the request of the buyer at the agreed price. (2) The design was made jointly by the entrepreneur and buyer. In this case design made by entrepreneur and exhibited in showrooms later modified at the request of the buyer. The modified design is then reproduced in large numbers after the agreed price. (3) The design made by buyers themselves. In this case the buyers bring their own designs to be reproduced entrepreneurs in large numbers after the deal price. The ability to create their own designs are artistic, creative and innovative allows entrepreneurs to develop their business quickly. Entrepreneurs who display ceramic designs that are artistic, creative and innovative in their showroom would catch eye of the buyers to come to their showroom. Therefore, their ability to make the designs make possible them to deal with the buyers. The following description shows the relationship between the ability to make the design, business success and position of entrepreneurs on social-economic stratification.

An important development occurred in the late 1990s, which began to appear young entrepreneurs

with a lot of cultural capital. In Kasongan the entrepreneurs with lots of cultural capital has the ability to create designs that are innovative ceramics, artistic and creative. They are also better able to make the design more quickly and diverse. In general they have a background in art education though not always in the field of ceramic art. Radite is an entrepreneur (ETFS) who founded his business in 1997 and currently become a leading businessman in Kasongan. In doing his business he firstly specialized in making sculpture. He is an artist graduated from Indonesia Art Institute in Yogyakarta. As an artist he is able to make design by himself. However, he also accept buyer who give picture of design to be made to become ceramic sculpture. In such the case he play role to make the picture finer in accordance with imagination of the buyer. Firstly, he and his wife worked together to carry out the enterprise by selling his ceramics to shops in Yogyakarta and Solo. Then Radite rented one shop in Kasongan to display ceramic that he made. The first designs were made and then became famous is in the form of an ashtray and a bell with artistic design. At the time there were many entrepreneurs who imitated that design. Now, Radite has one large workshop and three showrooms and become top level entrepreneur in Kasongan. Many people who come to Kasongan always go to his showroom for shopping. Radite employ 150 labors or craftsman and cooperate with many subcontract entrepreneurs to support his enterprise. Ceramic orders come from several countries in Europe, Australia and America. Radite has three showrooms and a sizeable workshop. To expand his business Radite often exhibits both domestically and abroad such as in Germany and Italy. Through these exhibitions he obtained orders from the customer directly or from wholesalers. Through these exhibitions many Kasongan visitors who come to his showroom situated in right next to the east of the Bedog River. The number of cars in front of his showroom or style of clothing of the visitors is a symbol of high social status of the visitors. A high position in the socio-economic stratification of the entrepreneurs also makes Radite often consulted by the government on how to develop industrial clusters. Radite is not only creates their own designs but also accept the designs made by others to be reproduced and sold through his company. On the basis of the agreement, the designs are reproduced and sold through his company may no longer be reproduced and sold by the manufacturer to another buyer. At present, the designs are made by Radite very diverse and with a variety of materials

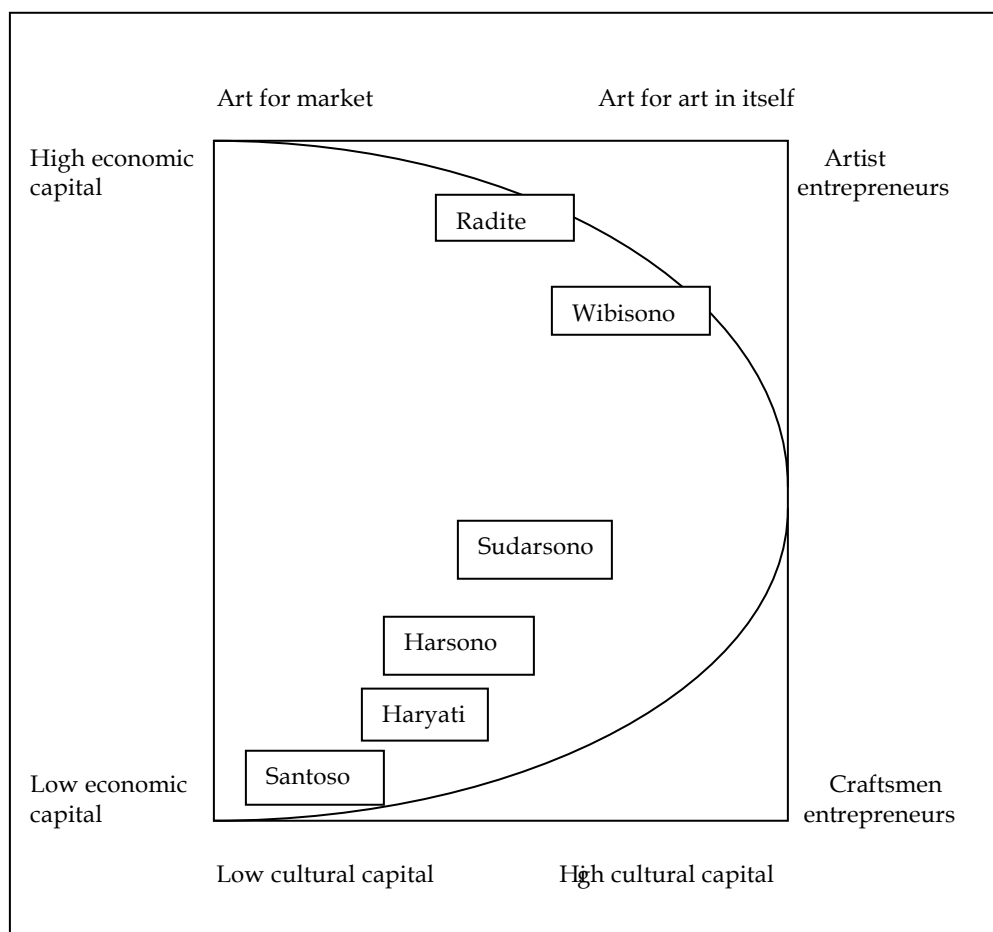


Figure 1
Cultural Capital, Economic Capital and Art Orientation among Entrepreneurs

and not just of clay alone. Radite itself is also often performed experiments for the manufacture of ceramic material or decoration materials. Although Radite can make designs but because of his commercial orientation is dominant he also would make the design along with the buyer. Making the design along with potential buyers is considered easier and more surely will saleable.

Wibisono is also entrepreneur who founded the business in Kasongan in 1998. Initially he sold his product in shops and malls that he consider inappropriate for selling artwork. At this time Wibisono also occupy a high position in the social stratification of the entrepreneurs though still below Radite position (see Figure 1). Figure 1 describe positions of every entrepreneurs at social-economic stratification in which every name is representative of entrepreneur class that he is part of its members. Picture of cultural capital owned by Wibisono put forward at the interview as follows:

"Fortunately, I am a bachelor of fine arts, is basically the art of painting. Incidentally my extended family is all artists. My father gradu-

ated from ISI, the mother as well, and then I am a graduate of ITB. Then my younger brother is also art. Well, the environment culture that forms me. So it was not because of talent. Like for example if parents doctor then all their children to be doctors. Perhaps because of my love for art that so I took him to business activities." (Interview, 30 December 2011)

Wibisono currently has a showroom in the east of the Bedog River and one workshop in Kasongan. Wibisono not only make ceramics but also other works of art made of wood, metal, etc. The number of workers is not as much as the workers owned by Radite. He has a network of crafters with diverse capabilities. At the time Wibisono needs craftsmen who have expertise in a particular field then they will be contacted and invited to cooperate. In such cases Wibisono plan the design and then the craftsmen who complete the design. Wibisono also often perform exhibitions in various places and occasions. The number of employees is not as much as the employees employed by Radite. The market orientation in running business make Radite busi-

ness far more advanced than Wibisono business although they both have cultural capital more or less the same. Its result Radite position on social-economic stratification higher than position of Wibisono (see Figure 1). Orientation differences between Radite and Wibisono in making ceramic design is appear in their sayings at time of discuss how the way they make design and in running the business. Wibisono said that if we keep the buyer in terms of design, we will like a handyman. Everything determined by buyers. Instead, Radite said that we should not be too idealistic, as an artist who dressed trash. If you like it we will be difficult to advance in running the business. Although they have differences in orientation it must be noted that theirs business surpass business of the old entrepreneurs with little cultural capital in fast.

There was also an entrepreneur who is able to create his own designs for having studied and worked on art gallery in Bali. He was Sudarsono (ETFS) who just had finished elementary school. Sudarsono had a showroom at the center of cluster in Kasongan and a workshop in the back of his house. He employed 9 persons consisting of 8 skilled craftsmen and one arts school graduate. The designs created by Sudarsono quite diverse in terms of function and decoration. Besides learning through internships at artists he also enriched knowledge and insights with buying books on ceramics in the city of Yogyakarta. Its products in the form of a bride and groom Java named Loroblonyo very famous in Kasongan. The sculptures were originally appeared stiff and tense made more relaxed. However variation of his ceramic art products was limited compared to designs of Wibisono and Radite and his ability to create new designs is limited. He took a long time to create new design. According to Wibisono, designs that created by Sudarsono is heavily influenced by and even imitated from designs created by ceramic artists to whom he studied. "Everyone already knows that he plagiarized," said Wibisono (Interview, 30 December 2011). However Radite classify Sudarsono as a creative entrepreneur. Due to the lack of formal education in the arts is difficult for him to explain the art of ceramics significantly. Perhaps because of the lack of art education background is what causes is not easy for Sudarsono to hold an exhibition, as was done by Radite and Wibisono. He said that sometimes ago he participated in some exhibitions that supported by government in Jakarta. Many ceramics that he made is purchased by buyers from home and abroad. He also received an order from the artshops in Yogyakarta. Most of ceramic raw

materials are used bought from West Java. In the combustion process he is using modern fuel stove with fuel gas. In running his business he was aided by his brothers and some artisans. In differentiation of ceramic entrepreneurs in Kasongan Sudarsono fall into the category of entrepreneurs ETFS. Although he has cultural capital that embodied in his homemade ceramic designs but Sudarsono position on stratification of entrepreneurs is under Radite and Wibisono.

Harsono was an entrepreneur (EFS) with the showroom which specializes in the manufacture of ceramics in the form of small size such as stationery supplies, souvenirs, etc. He received orders from various cities. Like many entrepreneurs in Kasongan, he runs his business with the assistance of some of the neighbors who graduated from junior high school. He does not have a formal education in art. But because of the influence of the environment makes it able to do the finishing work using paint. He did not establish his own design but ordered the small size terracotta ceramic in Plered, Bantul, Yogyakarta. Concerning the design he said that people are free to imitate the designs made in others. He considered that a design is common goods although the designer is individual so that everyone can imitate it. At the time of the interview he said: "Here we are free, who would imitate my design please. It is okay. We are equally alive, equally foraging" (Interview, 14 October 2011). The inability to create a design that is creative, innovative and artistic by him makes his business not as advanced as Sudarsono business. Majority of entrepreneurs in the main road in Kasongan has the same characteristic with Harsono. They imitate ceramic designs that created entrepreneurs like Radite and Wibisono. On average they employ 3-4 employees to do finishing work such as to paint or to attach certain materials to ceramic body. They receive order from consumers for fiesta of birthday and wedding or for indoor decoration. They also receive order from art shop in limited numbers.

In Kasongan imitate other people made designs are common. According to Surono, a design created and exhibited in front of the house usually has to be replicated in just one or two days by others. Sasmito said: "Craftsman of Kasongan very smart, by glancing alone he able to imitate design displayed at showroom" (interview, 14 January 2012). In Kasongan there is suspicion among the owners of the showroom lest other showroom owners who come into his showroom will mimic the design of the display. Radite ever tried to ban the practice of imitation design. Radite has been

suggested that employers who reproduce other people's designs have to pay royalties to the owner. But that efforts futile. He said that many of his designs were copied and reproduced by other entrepreneurs. A showroom located adjacent to Radite's showroom also specialize selling ceramic with design (with glass paste decorations) made by Radite. The showroom owner imitate designs of Radite without begging permission of Radite. The cases like this are common in Kasongan. In general, entrepreneurs who unable to make design that are innovative, creative and artistic cannot achieve high position on the social-economic stratification.

Haryati was an entrepreneur (ET) who produce terracotta that reside in the inside part of village. Since teenage she usually done ceramic work such as seek clay material, material mixing, and body formation of ceramic in wet condition. She has a fireplace to burn ceramic with wood fuel and employs one craftsman origin from Malahayu, Central Java. In Kasongan there are many entrepreneurs who make terracotta because they reside in the inside part of village that limit their possibility to build showroom. There are many entrepreneurs who reside in the inside part of village so that they dependent on the showroom owners in running their business. They will produce terracotta if the showroom owners make order to buy. Sometimes entrepreneurs like Radite, Wibisono and Harsono, if necessary, buy terracotta from these entrepreneurs, and then they will do finishing work by themselves. Same with Haryati is Budiman (ET) that becomes an entrepreneur after moving from one work to another work. Budiman was more successful in running the business rather than Haryati. He had experience in burning terracotta and in doing ceramic packaging. His experience made him having courage to set up business in producing terracotta. At interview time he said that his progress in business because he always keep promise and quality. He is able to explain in details on how to burning terracotta to result in good quality. His practice knowledge he gets from yearly experience when he worked on other entrepreneurs. This practice knowledge is difficult to be transferred from one man to another. Dependency of terracotta producers, like Haryati and Budiman, on showroom owners make them become object of squeeze. To avoid losses, the producers of terracotta which is usually recorded showroom owners who obey the pay orders and which are often delaying payment. Showroom owners who often delay payment will not be served if they order terracotta.

Entrepreneurs who produce clay materials for terracotta making (EM) have little cultural capital. In Kasongan such these entrepreneurs no more than ten people. Usually before set up his business they work on other entrepreneurs and doing the terracotta burning work. Santoso is one of the entrepreneurs that providing clay material. Experience in burning terracotta enables them to identify clay material with good quality in accordance with the various kind of terracotta to be made. The clay material entrepreneurs serve order from terracotta entrepreneurs. Because of their business is providing clay material they don't understand or comprehend various ceramic designs that buyer or consumer interested to buy it. They are on marginal position in ceramic art world in Kasongan. For them it not interested to understand or predict what ceramic designs that would be fashionable in the future. Cultural capital that is functional in ceramic world is not important for them. Therefore their position in the figure is at the bottom.

5. CONCLUSION, IMPLICATION, SUGGESTION, AND LIMITATIONS

Cultural capital that embodied in person of entrepreneur or craftsman is important for business success. There are degree difference among entrepreneurs in mastering cultural capital in such way so that who have amount large of cultural capital achieve higher position on social stratification. Not only in making the design, entrepreneurs with amount large of cultural capital are also easier to interact or communicate in meaningful way with buyers or consumers of ceramic art product. This interaction or communication gives to the entrepreneur a source of inspiration in making the design. Having art education background is very important cultural capital and it is indicated by the fact that entrepreneurs with art education background his business progress surpass the entrepreneurs without art education background in fast. This study implies that in the near future entrepreneurs or craftsmen without cultural capital that important in ceramic world would be in marginal positions in industrial cluster. They would do routine works with low income or exit from ceramic art industry. Limitation of this study is that this study was not taking into account the role of institutional context of the cluster that influences business success of the entrepreneurs. This study suggests that it is important to deliver training for young entrepreneurs or young craftsmen in making designs to enhance artistic disposition or actualize talent in making designs.

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